

HART-TEETER
1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20009
(202) 234-5570

Interviews: 1008 respondents
Dates: June 2-6, 1995

48 Male
52 Female
[5]

FINAL

Study #4060
NBC News/WSJ
June 1995

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[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]		[13]	[14]
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Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least eighteen years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who has had the most recent birthday? **(IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:)** Well, of the ones you do know, who has had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? **(IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is _____ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least eighteen years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? **(IF "YES," SAY:)** Here is my first question. **(PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)**

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district in which you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Registered	7	[15
	9]
Not registered.....	2	
	0	
Not sure.....	1	

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track? **[16]**¹

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-</u>	<u>4/3-</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>5/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>
		<u>25/95</u>	<u>4/95</u>			<u>4</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>4</u>			<u>3</u>			<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Right direction.....	27	33	32	32	40	34	37	27	28	32	35	27	47	15	34
Wrong track.....	51	45	50	47	42	47	42	55	57	50	42	56	27	71	48

Mixed (VOL).....	15	15	12	13	12	13	12	14	11	12	16	10	14	9	13
Not sure.....	7	7	6	8	6	6	9	4	4	6	7	7	12	5	5

¹ Only selected

3a. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing as president?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>11/9/94</u> *	<u>11/4- 5/94</u> *	<u>10/9</u> 4	<u>9/9</u> 4	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	
Approve....	46	50	46	44	45	48	43	44	48	44	49	52	[17]
Disapprove	42	39	44	45	43	44	48	44	43	48	44	39	
Not sure	12	11	10	11	12	8	9	12	9	8	7	9	
		<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/9</u> 3	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	
		57	55	60	56	47	50	45	41	52	57	51	
		37	36	31	33	43	39	45	50	34	26	16	
		6	9	9	11	10	11	10	9	14	17	33	

(FORM A)

3b. Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the economy?
1

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>9/9</u> 3	<u>6/9</u> 3	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	43	52	43	50	46	44	40	45	48	50	42	33	52	[18] 1
Disapprove..	48	39	46	38	46	47	51	46	41	39	48	56	28	
Not sure....	9	9	11	12	8	9	9	9	11	11	10	11	20	

(FORM B)

3c. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling our foreign policy?¹

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>10/9</u> 3	<u>7/9</u> 3	<u>6/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	
Approve.....	39	46	37	50	44	45	32	34	34	53	33	50	38	47	[19] 1
Disapprove....	46	41	47	38	45	46	60	54	54	31	58	36	43	22	
Not sure.....	15	13	16	12	11	9	8	12	12	16	9	14	19	31	

4. I'm going to read you the names of several public figures and institutions, and I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. **(READ EACH ITEM AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Bill Clinton¹							
June 1995.....	13	33	19	19	16	-	[20]
April 21-25, 1995.....	19	30	19	17	15	-	
April 3-4, 1995.....	15	30	18	19	18	-	
March 1995.....	14	31	18	19	17	1	
January 1995.....	15	29	18	20	17	1	
December 1994.....	15	26	19	18	21	1	
October 1994.....	16	26	16	16	25	1	
September 1994.....	13	28	18	18	23	-	
July 1994.....	15	28	17	15	24	1	
June 1994.....	17	29	17	16	20	1	
December 1993.....	22	33	15	15	14	1	
June 1993.....	16	28	15	17	23	1	
January 1993.....	33	31	15	9	7	5	
May 1992.....	8	24	24	23	14	7	
(FORM B)							
George Bush¹							
June 1995.....	17	38	22	13	10	-	[21]
December 1992.....	18	28	18	19	15	2	
August 1992.....	11	25	13	21	29	1	
May 1992.....	11	28	19	21	20	1	
January 1992.....	16	33	17	18	15	1	
March 1991.....	50	30	9	6	4	1	
October 1990.....	20	36	17	15	11	1	
(FORM B)							
Hillary Rodham Clinton¹							
June 1995.....	17	24	20	16	21	2	[22]
April 21-25, 1995.....	22	21	20	13	21	3	
March 1995.....	14	26	22	14	22	2	
January 1995.....	18	22	21	14	23	2	
December 1994.....	17	23	19	16	23	2	
October 1994.....	18	23	17	14	27	1	
September 1994.....	15	24	19	15	24	3	
July 1994.....	21	25	17	10	25	2	
June 1994.....	21	26	16	15	20	2	
December 1993.....	26	27	17	11	17	2	
June 1993.....	21	26	18	12	19	4	
January 1993.....	27	30	21	8	8	6	

¹ Only selected months
Q.4 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
Newt Gingrich							
June 1995.....	10	17	18	17	21	17	[23]
April 21-25, 1995.....	11	20	18	13	23	15	
April 3-4, 1995.....	9	18	20	14	25	14	
March 1995.....	10	17	17	17	24	15	
January 1995.....	9	19	20	13	18	21	
December 1994.....	6	13	17	13	19	32	
October 1994.....	3	8	14	7	9	59	
October 1990*.....	1	8	10	6	6	69	
The National Rifle Association or the NRA							
June 1995.....	12	16	19	16	29	8	[24]
(FORM A) Rush Limbaugh							
June 1995.....	10	14	14	14	34	14	[25]
October 1993.....	13	13	16	9	25	24	
Pat Robertson							
June 1995.....	6	13	23	14	19	25	[26]
Jesse Jackson							
June 1995.....	7	22	31	19	17	4	[27]
March 1995.....	7	20	25	20	23	5	
September 1994.....	8	18	28	21	20	5	
July 1994.....	9	18	26	20	22	5	
July 1992.....	5	17	25	21	29	3	
May 1992.....	7	22	25	18	24	4	
February 1992.....	8	21	23	20	24	4	
October 1991.....	9	22	22	21	22	4	
October 1990.....	12	25	24	17	18	4	
March 1990.....	15	28	24	14	15	4	
November 1989.....	15	30	23	16	13	3	
The Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms or the ATF							
June 1995.....	13	26	27	17	12	5	[28]

* Asked only of
Q.4 (cont'd)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/ Not Sure</u>	
(FORM A) Bob Dole¹							
June 1995.....	12	27	28	14	7	12	[29]
April 21-25, 1995.....	14	30	25	13	10	8	
April 3-4, 1995.....	11	30	24	16	9	10	
March 1995.....	17	34	21	11	9	8	

January 1995.....	13	29	23	15	9	11
December 1994.....	16	31	21	14	10	8
October 1994.....	11	25	23	14	16	11
September 1994.....	14	24	24	13	12	13
July 1994.....	12	25	22	15	14	12
June 1994.....	11	26	26	12	12	13
January 1994.....	13	29	21	14	9	14
June 1993.....	15	25	24	12	10	14

Colin Powell

June 1995.....	25	32	21	4	1	17	[30]
April 21-25, 1995.....	26	30	20	4	2	18	
March 1995.....	28	30	22	4	1	15	
September 1994.....	33	25	19	4	2	17	
October 1993.....	35	30	15	4	1	15	
September 1993.....	32	27	17	4	3	17	
June 1993.....	37	27	13	4	2	17	
May 1991*.....	37	30	14	3	2	14	
March 1991*.....	43	28	8	2	1	18	
February 1991*.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	

¹ Only selected months**(FORM A)**

5. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/94</u>	
Approve.....	43	47	42	41	31	27	23	28	34	32	31	[33]
Disapprove.....	43	40	44	46	48	63	67	64	52	56	58	1
Not sure.....	14	13	14	13	21	10	10	8	14	12	11	
	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/93</u>	<u>10/93</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>1/93</u>	<u>4/92*</u>	<u>10/91</u>	<u>7/91*</u>	<u>10/90</u>	
	33	30	29	24	27	27	27	15	26	28	22	
	54	56	60	65	60	61	56	78	62	63	69	
	13	14	11	11	13	12	17	7	12	9	9	

(FORM B)

6. Do you approve or disapprove of the job Newt Gingrich is doing as speaker of the House of Representatives?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Approve.....	39	45	40	37	32	[32]
Disapprove.....	35	36	41	43	26	1
Not sure.....	26	19	19	20	42	

- 7a. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote? **[33]**

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>11/9/94</u>	<u>10/94</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/9</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	
Bill Clinton.....	43	45	41	41	39	45	41	46	48	45	[33]
Bob Dole.....	42	43	48	43	45	43	43	43	39	45	
Depends (VOL).....	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	NA	NA	NA	
Neither/other (VOL).....	7	6	6	8	5	6	9	4	7	NA	
Not sure.....	6	5	4	6	8	5	5	7	6	10	

* Asked only of registered

(FORM B)

- 7b. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Phil Gramm were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
Bill Clinton.....	46	49	46	[34]
Phil Gramm.....	30	32	33	
Depends (VOL).....	2	1	2	
Neither/other (VOL).....	8	6	7	
Not sure.....	14	12	12	

(FORM A)

- 7c. If the next election for president were held today, **(ROTATE ORDER OF NAMES ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW)** and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate and Newt Gingrich were the Republican candidate, for whom would you vote?

Bill Clinton.....	5	[35]
	5	
Newt Gingrich.....	2	
	8	
Depends (VOL).....	1	
Neither/other (VOL).....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	5	

- 7d. If the next election for president were held today, and Bill Clinton were running as the Democratic candidate, Bob Dole were the Republican candidate, and Colin Powell were an Independent candidate, for whom would you vote?

	6/95	4/21- 25/95	3/95	10/94	7/94	
Bill Clinton.....	33	35	34	34	36	[36]
Bob Dole	27	28	32	24	29	
Colin Powell.....	25	23	23	29	21	
Depends (VOL).....	3	2	2	2	NA	
None/other (VOL).....	3	3	1	2	2	
Not sure.....	9	9	8	9	12	

- 8a. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/ REPUBLICAN.")**

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? **(IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")**

Strong Democrat.....	1 4	SKIP TO Q.10	{202}
Not very strong Democrat.....	1 2		
Independent/lean Democrat.....	1 0		
Strictly Independent.....	1 8	CONTINUE	
Independent/lean Republican.....	1 1		
Not very strong Republican.....	1 2		
Strong Republican.....	1 4		
Other.....	7	SKIP TO Q.10	
Refused.....	-		
Don't know/nothing.....	2		

- 8b. Let me read you a list of people who are seeking the 1996 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	6/95 All Republican	4/21-25/95 All Republican	3/95 All Republicans	
Lamar Alexander.....	5 3	5 2	5	[37]
Pat Buchanan.....	3	6	5	
Bob Dole.....	58	58	60	
Phil Gramm.....	12	14	13	
Richard Lugar.....	2	3	4	
Arlen Specter.....	3	1	2	

Pete Wilson.....	5	6	NA
Someone else/none (VOL).....	4	1	3
Not sure.....	10	9	8

- 8c. Let me read you another list of candidates. If you were voting today in the 1996 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? **(READ LIST. START FROM THE BOTTOM ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:)** Well, which way do you lean? **(ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.)**

	All Republicans	
Bob Dole.....	48	[38]
Phil Gramm.....	10	
Colin Powell.....	22	
Newt Gingrich.....	10	
Someone else/none (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	8	

9. Would you like to see Newt Gingrich seek the Republican presidential nomination in 1996 or not?

	All Republicans	
Yes, would like to see Newt Gingrich seek nomination.....	21	[39]
No, would not like to see Newt Gingrich seek the nomination.	64	
Not sure.....	15	

(ASK EVERYONE)

10. I'd like to read you a list of six possible legislative priorities. Please tell me which one or two you feel are the most important issues for Congress to address. **(READ LIST SLOWLY. START FROM BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT NO MORE THAN TWO ANSWERS.)**

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	
Health care reform.....	45	40	29	[40]
A balanced federal budget	38	NA	NA	>
A middle class tax cut.....	17	19	28	
Welfare reform.....	36	41	46	
A revised Crime Bill.....	17	19	21	
An increase in the minimum wage.....	19	20	18	
All equally important (VOL).....	3	4	3	
None is important (VOL).....	-	-	-	
Not sure.....	-	-	-	

(FORM A)

11. During the next year, do you think the national economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	<u>10/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>6/94</u>	<u>5/94</u>	<u>3/9</u>	<u>1/94</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>10/9</u>	
Will get better.....	16	24	31	31	28	28	27	29	44	43	21	[41]
Will get worse.....	27	23	17	24	24	17	21	16	16	19	27	
Will stay about the same.....	53	50	46	40	44	52	49	52	36	34	50	
Not sure.....	4	3	6	5	4	3	3	3	4	4	2	
		<u>9/93</u>	<u>7/93</u>	<u>6/93</u>	<u>4/93</u>	<u>3/93</u>	<u>1/9</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>5/92</u>	<u>9/91</u>		
		23	20	23	33	39	50	53	32	31		
		24	29	27	21	15	9	10	20	24		
		51	48	47	44	43	39	35	45	40		
		2	3	3	2	3	2	2	3	5		

*Asked only of registered

(FORM B)

12. Do you approve or disapprove of President Clinton's decision to impose duties on imported Japanese-made luxury cars, in order to pressure Japan to open its markets to American cars and auto parts?

Approve of Clinton's decision to impose import duties.....	7	[42]
	2	
Disapprove of Clinton's decision to impose import duties.	1	
	9	
Not sure.....	9	

13. Now, let me read you some specific issues. When it comes to **(READ ITEM)**, which party do you think would do a better job--the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, both about the same, or neither? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM LISTED BELOW. ROTATE ORDER OF ITEMS.)**

	Democrati c Party	Republica n Party	Both	Neithe r	Not Sur e	
Dealing with the economy						
June 1995.....	17	29	29	23	2	[43]
October 1994.....	22	30	28	16	4	
July 1994.....	18	29	32	17	4	
June 1994.....	21	26	39	12	2	
October 1993.....	22	27	20	28	3	
March 1993.....	34	18	34	11	3	
July 1992*.....	26	18	35	18	3	
May 1992.....	29	23	26	17	5	
January 1992*.....	28	23	33	12	4	
October 1991*.....	27	28	26	14	5	
Dealing with crime						
June 1995.....	17	32	25	20	6	[44]
November 1994.....	14	25	34	19	8	
October 1994.....	23	28	21	21	7	
July 1994.....	18	26	33	19	4	
May 1994.....	9	20	52	15	4	
October 1993.....	20	27	22	24	7	
Reforming the welfare system						
June 1995.....	21	39	15	19	6	[45]
October 1994.....	28	31	12	21	8	
July 1994.....	30	29	17	19	5	
Dealing with Medicare						
June 1995.....	33	22	18	19	8	[46]
Dealing with taxes						
June 1995.....	22	35	15	22	6	[47]
November 1994.....	23	36	16	17	8	
October 1994.....	23	38	17	18	4	
October 1993.....	23	34	16	23	4	
July 1992*.....	29	20	20	25	6	
May 1992.....	29	24	17	22	8	
April 1992*.....	30	24	18	23	5	
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	35	26	17	17	5	
October 1991*.....	26	31	18	18	7	

[52]

Q.13 (cont'd)

	Democrati c Party	Republica n Party	Both	Neithe r	Not Sur e
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Dealing with foreign policy					
June 1995.....	8	34	39	14	5 [48]
October 1994.....	15	34	34	12	5
July 1994.....	16	44	25	9	6
October 1993.....	10	37	11	39	3
July 1992*.....	15	48	24	7	6
April 1992*.....	21	48	18	9	4
Feb/Mar 1992*.....	16	48	22	7	7
January 1992*.....	13	42	31	6	8
Reducing the federal deficit					
June 1995.....	16	37	17	26	4 [49]
October 1993.....	27	23	27	18	5
March 1993.....	39	16	23	18	4
April 1992*.....	20	19	18	37	6
October 1991*.....	24	29	16	24	7
October 1990*.....	25	27	19	23	6
Dealing with education					
June 1995.....	35	26	21	11	7 [50]
October 1994.....	34	21	24	15	6
October 1993.....	32	24	16	24	4
July 1992*.....	42	17	25	12	4
October 1991**.....	28	14	33	18	7
October 1990*.....	33	15	30	14	8
November 1989*.....	30	15	32	15	8
Dealing with terrorism					
June 1995.....	14	34	28	15	9 [51]
Dealing with Social Security					
June 1995.....	35	26	16	15	8 [52]
November 1994.....	32	27	15	16	10

14. Which of these is the best description of **(READ ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**-- it looks out for the middle class, it favors the rich at the expense of the middle class, or it favors the poor at the expense of the middle class?

	Looks Out For The Middle <u>Class</u>	Favors Rich At The Expense Of <u>Middle</u> <u>Class</u>	Favors Poor At The Expense Of <u>The Middle</u> <u>Class</u>	Combi- nation (VOL)	Not <u>Sure</u>	
The Democratic Party....	31	19	35	3	12	[53]
The Republican Party.....	21	60	5	3	11	[54]

- 15a. Congress is currently debating a federal budget plan for next year that sets federal taxes and spending. How closely have you been following the debate over the federal budget--very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all closely?

Very closely.....	9	[55]
Somewhat closely.....	40	
Not very closely.....	29	
Not at all closely.....	21	
None (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	-	

- 15b. From what you know, do you agree more with **(ROTATE ORDER)** Bill Clinton and the Democrats **OR** more with the Republicans in Congress on the issue of the federal budget?

Clinton and Democrats	3	[56]
	8	
Republicans in Congress.....	4	
	1	
Both equal (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	7	

- 15c. Which concerns you more about the current budget debate **(ROTATE)**--that the Democrats will not go far enough in reducing spending and balancing the budget, **OR** that Republicans will go too far in cutting programs and giving tax breaks to wealthy special interests?

Democrats will not go far enough ...	3	[57]
	3	
Republicans will go too far.....	5	
	6	
Both equal (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	6	

(FORM A)

- 16a. If Congress reduces spending on some programs this year, should these savings mainly be used to reduce the deficit, to lower taxes, or to increase funding for other programs?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
Reduce the deficit.....	51	53	[58]
Lower taxes.....	25	26	
Increase funding for other programs.....	19	15	
Combination (VOL).....	2	2	
Not sure.....	3	4	

(FORM B)

- 16b. Here are some possible goals Congress could have in passing the budget. Please tell me which one or two you think are the most important goals for the budget. **(ROTATE ORDER EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES.)**

Balancing the budget by the year 2002.....	22	[59]
	1	
Making sure the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes.....	32	>
Reducing government spending.....	29	
Protecting Medicare and Social Security.....	39	
Lowering taxes on the middle class.....	13	
Improving education.....	30	

None of them (VOL).....	-
All of them (VOL).....	5
Not sure.....	-

- 17a. In order to balance the federal budget, do you favor or oppose reducing planned federal spending by one trillion dollars over the next seven years?

Favor	6	[60]
	7	
Oppose.....	1	
	4	
Not sure.....	1	
	9	

- 17b. Do you think the federal budget deficit can be eliminated solely by cutting wasteful federal spending, or do you think it will be necessary to cut important programs or raise taxes in order to eliminate the deficit?

Eliminated solely by cutting wasteful spending . .	5	[61]
	0	
Cut important programs or raise taxes.....	3	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	3	

(FORM A)

- 17c. If the deficit cannot be eliminated solely by cutting wasteful federal spending, which one of these steps would you most favor--**(ROTATE ORDER)** cutting important programs, raising taxes, or postponing elimination of the deficit?

Cutting important programs.....	2	[62]
	7	
Raising taxes.....	2	
	3	
Postponing elimination of the deficit.....	3	
	7	
Combination (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	9	

(FORM B)

- 17d. If the deficit cannot be eliminated solely by cutting wasteful federal spending, which one of these steps would you favor as the best way to reduce the deficit? **(READ ITEMS.)**

Reduce spending on defense.....	2	[63]
	9	
Reduce spending on Medicare and Social Security.....	4	
Reduce spending on other domestic programs	4	
	0	
Raise taxes.....	1	
	5	
Combination/all (VOL).....	4	
None (VOL).....	5	
Not sure.....	3	

(FORM A)

- 18a. Congress is considering the elimination of some federal agencies and programs. For each one, please tell me whether you think it should be maintained or eliminated. First, should the **(READ ITEM)** be maintained or eliminated? **(REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM. ROTATE ORDER EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Should Be <u>Maintained</u>	Should Be <u>Eliminated</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Department of Commerce.....	56	28	16	[64]
National service program.....	40	27	33	[65]
Department of Education	80	17	3	[66]
National Endowment for the Arts.....	38	54	8	[67]
Department of Energy.....	63	25	12	[68]
Federal funding for public radio and television.....	48	47	5	[69]

(FORM B)

- 18b. As you may know, Congress is considering where to cut government spending in its new budget. I am going to read some spending areas, and for each one please tell me if you think this area should be cut a great deal, a fair amount, just a little, or not cut at all. First, should **(READ ITEM)** be cut a great deal, a fair amount, just a little, or not cut at all? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Cut A <u>Great</u> <u>Deal</u>	Cut A <u>Fair</u> <u>Amount</u>	Cut Just <u>A Little</u>	Not Cut <u>At All</u>	Spend <u>More</u> <u>(VOL)</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Education.....	3	9	15	72	1	-	[70]
Welfare.....	31	35	24	8	-	2	[71]
Defense.....	11	30	26	30	1	2	[72]
Medicare.....	2	12	25	59	-	2	[73]
Farm programs.....	16	24	28	26	-	6	[74]
Social Security	2	7	18	71	-	2	[75]
Foreign aid.....	46	29	20	3	-	2	[76]
Medicaid.....	5	15	29	47	-	4	[77]

(FORM B)

- 19a. Let me read you two different plans for balancing the budget. Plan A cuts more from planned spending on Medicare and Medicaid, spends more on defense, and includes large tax cuts. Plan B cuts less from Medicare and Medicaid, spends less on defense, and includes smaller tax cuts. Which plan do you prefer?

Plan A/cuts more Medicare, spends more on defense, large tax cuts.....	1	[78]
Plan B/cuts less Medicare, spends less on defense, smaller tax cuts.....	5	[79]
Not sure.....	7	

(FORM A)

- 19b. Let me read you two different plans for balancing the budget. Plan A balances the budget in seven years, and includes larger cuts in spending on Medicare and education. Plan B takes ten

years or more to balance the budget, and cuts less from Medicare and education. Which plan do you prefer?

Plan A/balances in seven years, larger cuts in Medicare and education.....	1	[79
Plan B/balances in ten years, cuts less from Medicare and education.....	8]
Not sure.....	7	
	8	
	4	

- 20a. Which of these would you prefer--reducing spending on Medicare by two hundred billion dollars over the next seven years, with all the savings going to deficit reduction, **OR** maintaining Medicare spending at its current level, even if that means the budget deficit is not reduced?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	
Reducing spending on Medicare	32	29	[80]
Maintaining Medicare at its current level....	58	62	
Not sure.....	10	9	

(FORM B)

- 20b. If Congress reduces spending on Medicare by two hundred billion dollars over the next seven years, do you think this will or will not lead to cutbacks in necessary medical services for the elderly?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	
Will lead to cutbacks.....	73	74	[81]
Will not lead to cutbacks.....	20	20	
Not sure.....	7	6	

(FORM A)

- 20c. If Congress reduces planned spending on Medicare by five percent over the next seven years, do you think this will or will not lead to cutbacks in necessary medical services for the elderly?

Will lead to cutbacks.....	6	[82]
	3	
Will not lead to cutbacks.....	2	
	8	
Not sure.....	9	

Now turning to some different subjects . . .

- 21a. Last year, Congress banned the sale and manufacture of assault weapons. In your view, should Congress keep or end this ban?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/3- 4/95</u>	
Keep the ban on assault weapons.....	78	76	[83]
End the ban on assault weapons.....	18	20	
Not sure.....	4	4	

- 21b. Which concerns you more today--that the government will go too far in restricting the rights of citizens to own firearms, or that the government will not do enough to regulate access to firearms?

Government will go too far in restricting the rights of citizens to own firearms.....	3	[84]
	5	
Government will not do enough to regulate access to firearms.....	5	
	8	
Not sure.....	7	

- 21c. In your opinion, does the National Rifle Association, also known as the NRA, have **(ROTATE ORDER)** too little political influence, about the right amount of political influence, or too much political influence today?

Too little political influence.....	1	[85]
	2	
About the right amount of political influence....	2	
	3	
Too much political influence.....	5	
	6	
Not sure.....	9	

- 21d. Which of the following is closer to your own view of the NRA: **(ROTATE ORDER)**

It is a responsible organization, that represents sportsmen and defends people's right to own firearms, **OR**

it is an irresponsible organization that puts a special interest agenda ahead of public safety?

Responsible organization, represents sportsmen, defends people's right to own firearms.....	4	[86]
Irresponsible organization, puts a special interest agenda ahead of public safety.....	1	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	7	
	6	
	6	

- 21e. Which of the following do you think is more important for Congress to investigate and hold hearings on? **(READ EACH ITEM, ROTATING ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

The way law enforcement agencies handled the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas.....	21	[87]
The activities of private militia groups around the country....	62	
Equally important (VOL).....	8	
Neither important (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	6	

- 22a. When dealing with the issue of violence and sex in movies and music videos, do you think the entertainment industry has mainly acted responsibly or mainly acted irresponsibly?

Mainly acted responsibly.....	1	[88]
	9	
Mainly acted irresponsibly.....	7	
	4	
Both/mixed (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	3	

- 22b. And which of these concerns you more--**(ROTATE)** that government will not get involved enough in regulating sex and violence in movies and videos, **OR** that the government will get too involved in the censorship of movies and videos?

Will not get involved enough in regulating.....	4	[89]
	2	
Will get too involved in censorship.....	4	
	8	
Both/neither (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	4	

- 23a. How concerned are you that terrorists will commit acts of violence in the United States--are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	
Very concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	44	58	[90]
Somewhat concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	46	33	
Not concerned about terrorist violence in U.S.....	10	8	
Not sure.....	-	1	

(FORM B)

- 23b. And how concerned are you that terrorists will commit acts of violence near where you live or work--are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not concerned?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21-25/95</u>	
Very concerned about terrorist violence near home or work..	20	31	[91]
Somewhat concerned about terrorist violence near home or work.....	36	35	
Not concerned about terrorist violence near home or work...	43	34	
Not sure.....	1	-	

(FORM B)

- 23c. Have you or your family changed the way you live--such as how or where you travel--because of concern about terrorism?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	
Yes, have changed the way you live.....	19	21	[92]
No, have <u>not</u> changed the way you live.....	80	78	
Not sure.....	1	1	

Now I have a few questions on foreign policy . . .**(FORM A)**

- 24a. Which one of the following do you think is the most serious foreign policy issue facing the United States today? **(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW. ACCEPT ONLY ONE RESPONSE.)**¹

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	<u>1/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/94</u>	<u>7/94</u>	<u>6/9</u>	<u>5/94</u>	
Economic instability in Mexico*.....	7	13	11	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	[93] 1
Trade relations with Japan.....	22	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
Relations with China.....	6	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	
North Korea's nuclear program+.....	10	18	21	16	25	33	46	25	
The war in Bosnia**.....	29	11	12	25	8	12	11	21	
Relations between Israel and the Arab nations**.....	10	14	11	16	12	8	7	14	
All equally (VOL).....	8	7	5	6	4	5	5	8	
None of these (VOL).....	2	2	2	3	3	2	1	1	
Not sure.....	6	8	5	5	6	6	6	7	

¹ Only selected months of comparable data are shown.

(FORM A)

- 24b. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job Bill Clinton is doing in handling the situation in Bosnia?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>12/94</u>	
Approve.....	41	41	[94]
Disapprove.....	43	43	
Not sure.....	16	16	

(FORM B)

- 24c. If Serbian forces continue to attack Bosnian cities or the United Nations peacekeeping troops in Bosnia who are trying to deliver humanitarian assistance, would you favor or oppose having the United States and its European allies conduct air strikes against the Serbian military forces?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>9/93</u>	<u>8/93</u>	
Favor air strikes.....	56	58	53	[95]
Oppose air strikes.....	33	33	34	
Not sure.....	11	9	13	

- 24d. How closely have you been following the situation in Bosnia--very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all closely?

Very closely.....	22	[96]
Somewhat closely.....	53	
Not very closely.....	19	
Not at all closely.....	6	
None (VOL).....	-	
Not sure.....	-	

(FORM A)

- 24e. Would you favor or oppose a decision to send U.S. ground troops to Bosnia to help move U.N. peacekeeping forces to a safer location?

Favor.....	4	[97]
	5	
Oppose.....	4	
	6	
Depends (VOL).....	4	
Not sure.....	5	

(FORM B)

- 24f. Which of the following two statements about the United States and Bosnia comes closer to your own view? **(ROTATE ORDER)**

Statement A: The U.S. should be more involved in Bosnia, because the U.S. cannot be a world leader and stand by while innocent Bosnian civilians are killed and other nations provide all the peacekeepers.

Statement B: The U.S. should be less involved in Bosnia, because American lives should be put at risk only to protect our national interests, and that is not the case in Bosnia.

Statement A/U.S. needs to be more involved.....	3	[98]
	6	
Statement B/U.S. should be less involved.....	5	
	0	
Some of both (VOL).....	6	
Not sure.....	8	

And now turning to different topics . . .**(FORM A)**

- 25a. Would you say that press coverage of Bill Clinton has generally been **(ROTATE ORDER)** biased in favor of Bill Clinton, been fairly well-balanced, or been biased against Bill Clinton?

Biased in favor of Bill Clinton.....	16	[99]
Fairly well-balanced.....	45	
Biased against Bill Clinton.....	32	
Depends/some of both (VOL).....	3	
Not sure.....	4	

(FORM B)

- 25b. Would you say that press coverage of Newt Gingrich and other Republicans in Congress has generally been **(ROTATE ORDER)** biased in favor of the Republicans, been fairly well-balanced, or been biased against the Republicans?

Biased in favor of Republicans.....	22	[100]
]
Fairly well-balanced.....	36	
Biased against Republicans.....	24	
Depends/some of both (VOL).....	2	
Not sure.....	16	

- 25c. Do you think television stations and networks generally should or should not be allowed to broadcast criminal courtroom trials?

Allowed in the courtroom.....	4	[101]
	0	
Not allowed in the courtroom....	5	
	5	
Not sure.....	5	

- 26a. How closely have you been watching the trial of O.J. Simpson--very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all closely?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>3/95</u>	
Very closely.....	13	13	[102]
			1
Somewhat closely.....	31	34	
Not very closely.....	24	26	
Not at all closely.....	28	24	
None (VOL).....	3	2	
Not sure.....	1	1	

- 26b. In your opinion, is O.J. Simpson guilty or not guilty of the murders he has been charged with committing?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	<u>12/9</u>	<u>9/9</u>	<u>7/9</u>	
		<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	
O.J. Simpson is guilty.....	54	50	49	42	33	[103]
						1
O.J. Simpson is not guilty.....	17	18	16	22	23	
Not sure.....	29	32	35	36	44	

- 26c. In your opinion, is the O.J. Simpson trial a fair trial or not a fair trial?

	<u>6/95</u>	<u>4/21- 25/95</u>	
O.J. Simpson trial is fair	45	38	[104]
			1
O.J. Simpson trial is not fair.....	39	46	
Not sure.....	16	16	

- 26d. Has the O.J. Simpson trial increased your confidence in the legal system, decreased your confidence, or had no effect on your confidence in the legal system?

Increased confidence in legal system.....	4	[105]
		1
Decreased confidence in legal system.....	51	
No effect on confidence in legal system.....	42	
Not sure.....	3	

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

F1. Did you happen to vote in the 1992 presidential election?

(IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote--George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat, or Ross Perot, the Independent?

<u>Yes, Voted</u>		
George Bush.....	3	{200}
	0	
Bill Clinton	3	
	3	
Ross Perot.....	1	
	1	
None (VOL)/not sure/refused.....	3	
<u>No, Did Not Vote</u>	2	
	1	
<u>Not Sure If Voted/Refused</u>	2	

F2. In politics today, do you generally consider yourself to be very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, very conservative, or do you think your views cannot really be described in those terms?

Very liberal.....	5	{201}
Somewhat liberal.....	1	
	8	
Moderate.....	2	
	6	
Somewhat conservative.....	2	
	5	
Very conservative.....	1	
	0	
Views cannot be described in those	1	
terms.....	4	
Not sure.....	2	

F3. What is the last grade you completed in school? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

Grade school.....	1	{203}
Some high school.....	7	
High school graduate.....	3	
	3	
Some college, no degree.....	1	
	7	
Vocational training, 2-year college.....	9	
4-year college/bachelor's degree.....	1	
	8	
Some postgraduate work, no degree.....	3	
2-3 years' postgraduate work, master's	8	
degree.....		
Doctoral degree/law degree.....	3	
Not sure.....	1	

F4. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	11	{204}
25-29.....	11	
30-34.....	11	
35-39.....	11	
40-44.....	10	

45-49.....	9
50-54.....	6
55-59.....	6
60-64.....	6
65 and over.....	18
Refused.....	1

F5. What type of work do you do? (WRITE JOB DESCRIPTION IN SPACE BELOW.)

Professional/manager.....	2	{205}
	6	
White collar worker.....	1	
	8	
Blue collar worker.....	2	
	0	
Farmer.....	2	
Student.....	4	
Homemaker.....	8	
Retired.....	2	
	1	
Unemployed.....	1	
Never worked/not sure.....	-	

F6. What is your marital status--are you single and never married, married, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Single.....	2	{220}
	3	
Married.....	5	
	9	
Separated.....	1	
Divorced.....	9	
Widowed.....	7	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F7. Do you have any children age 18 or under living in your home?

Yes.....	3	{221}
	9	
No.....	6	
	0	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

F8a. In what religion were you brought up?

Protestant.....	5	CONTINU	{207}
	3	E	
Catholic.....	3	SKIP TO	
	1	Q.F9	
Jewish.....	3		
Other.....	7		
None.....	4		
Not sure/refused.....	2		

(ASK ONLY OF PROTESTANTS IN Q.F8a.)

F8b. Would you describe yourself as either a fundamentalist or an evangelical Christian, or would you not describe yourself that way?

Fundamentalist.....	6	{208}
Evangelical	6	
Neither fundamentalist or evangelical	36	
Both (VOL).....	1	
Not sure.....	4	
Non-Protestants (Q.F8a).....	47	

(ASK EVERYONE)

F9. Do you regularly listen to political call-in shows on the radio?

Yes, regularly listen to call-in radio shows.....	2	{250 }
	3	
No, do not regularly listen to call-in radio	7	
shows.....	6	
Not sure.....	1	

F10. Are you, or is any member of your household, a member of a labor union?

Labor union member.....	1	{213}
	0	
Labor union household.....	8	
Nonunion household.....	8	
	0	
Not sure.....	2	

F11. How would you describe the area in which you live--a large city, a medium to small city, a suburb near a city, a small town that is not near a city, or a rural or country area?

Large city.....	2	{212}
	1	
Medium to small city.....	2	
	7	
Suburb near a city.....	2	
	0	
Small town that is not near a city...	1	
	6	
Rural or country area.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	1	

F12. Are there currently any firearms in working condition in your house? **(IF YES, ASK:)** Do you have long guns, by which I mean rifles or shotguns, do you have handguns, or do you have both types of guns?

Yes, There Are Firearms In Working Condition In House **[106]**

Long gun in house.....	14
Handgun in house.....	6
Both long gun and handgun in house.....	17
Not sure what type of gun.....	1

No, There Are Not Firearms In Working Condition In House **60**

Not Sure If There Are Any Firearms In Working Condition In House **2**

F13a. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	79	SKIP TO Q.F14.	{214}
Black.....	11	CONTINUE	
Hispanic.....	5		
Asian.....	2		
Other.....	2	SKIP TO Q.F14.	
Not sure/refused.....	1		

(ASK ONLY OF BLACK RESPONDENTS.)

F13b. Who is the black American, besides your friends or members of your family, that you most admire today? **(DO NOT READ CHOICES.)**

	6/95 Blacks	9/94 Blacks	
Ron Brown.....	-	1	[107]
Bill Cosby.....	7	5	
Louis Farrakhan.....	2	4	
Jesse Jackson.....	12	19	
Michael Jordan.....	1	3	>
Coretta Scott King.....	-	2	
Colin Powell.....	13	15	
Clarence Thomas.....	1	1	

Oprah Winfrey.....	2	6	[108]
Martin Luther King.....	10	5	
Maya Angelou.....	3	3	
Other.....	25	23	
None (VOL).....	8	10	
Not sure	16	8	

(ASK EVERYONE)

- F14. If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	{216}
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	5	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	
	7	
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1	
	3	
More than \$75,000.....	1	
	3	
Not sure/refused.....	7	

- F15. This survey is being conducted as part of continuing coverage of national issues by NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. A few reporters assigned to this story will be calling back a selected number of participants to get additional insights. Would you have any objection to being contacted?

Do not object.....	8	{217}
	2	
Object--do not call.....	1	
	8	